1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20009 (202) 234-5570

Interviews: <u>512 adults</u> Date: <u>December 14, 2003</u>

Male 48 Female 52 **[4]**

FINAL

Study #6040 NBC News/Wall Street Journal December 14, 2003

Please note: all results are shown as percentages unless otherwise stated.

The margin of error for 512 interviews is ±4.3%

Unless otherwise noted by a "+", all previous data shown reflects responses among all adults.

1. Have you or have you not heard the news that United States military forces in Iraq have captured Saddam Hussein? (IF "YES," ASK:) How closely have you been following news reports about his capture – very closely, somewhat closely, or not all that closely?

No, Have Not Heard	4	[5]
Yes, Have Heard		
Following reports very closely	34	
Following reports somewhat closely	46	
Following reports not all that closely	16	
Depends (VOL)	-	
Not sure	-	

2. All in all, do you think that things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

Right direction Wrong track Mixed (VOL) Not sure	12/14/03 56 30 9 5	12/13/03 41 48 8 3	11/03 43 47 6 3	9/03 38 50 8 4	7/03 42 44 9 4	5/03 49 38 8 5	4/03 62 22 13 3	1/03 36 47 14 3	High Low 9/01 7/92+ 14 [6] 11 71 9 6 6 6 6
		12/02	<u>10/02</u> +	9/02	7/02	6/02	<u>4/02</u>	1/02	
		43	44	42	40	52	53	62	
		42	42	43	42	31	28	20	
		13	14	12	14	14	15	14	
		2	-	3	4	3	4	4	
		12/01	9/01	<u>6/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	<u>1/01</u>		
		70	72	43	47	52	45		
		15	11	39	39	32	36		

12 11 14 11 11 15 3 6 4 3 5 4

⁺ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

3a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job that George W. Bush is doing as president?

Approve Disapprove Not sure	12/14/03 58 34 9	12/13/03 52 41 7	11/03 51 44 5	9/03 49 45 6	7/03 56 38 6	5/03 62 31 7	4/03 71 23 6	High High 11/01 88 7 5 5	Low 6/01 50 35 15	[7]
		3/29-								
		30/03	3/23/03	3/17/03	2/03 ¹	<u>1/03</u>	12/02	10/02+		
		66	67	62	61	54	62	63		
		29	28	33	31	40	33	31		
		5	5	5	8	6	5	6		
		9/02	7/02	6/02	<u>5/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	1/02	<u>12/01</u>	<u>11/01</u>	
		64	67	69	75	74	82	85	88	
		30	27	23	18	20	13	11	7	
		6	6	8	7	6	5	4	5	

 $^{^{\}rm 1}$ Overnight poll conducted after Colin Powell's speech to the United Nations. + Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

3b. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing in handling our foreign policy?

Approve Disapprove Not sure	12/14/03 56 37 7	12/13/03 48 47 5	11/03 48 48 4	9/03 47 46 7	7/03 55 39 6	<u>5/03</u> 63 31 6	4/03 70 24 6	[8]
		1/03 51 42 7	12/02 57 36 7	10/02+ 58 35 7	9/02 55 34 11	7/02 62 28 10	6/02 64 28 8	
		4/02 68 26 6	1/02 81 13 6	12/01 82 12 6	6/01 50 32 18	4/01 63 26 11	3/01 53 20 27	

⁺ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

3c. When it comes to dealing with the war on terrorism, do you approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing?

	12/14/03	12/13/03	11/03	9/03	7/03	<u>1/03</u>	12/02	
Approve	66	56	56	60	66	64	66	[9]
Disapprove	27	38	39	34	28	28	27	
Not sure	7	5	5	6	6	8	7	
			<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>5/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	
			67	73	75	75	76	
			26	22	20	18	19	
			7	5	5	7	5	

3d. Looking ahead to next year's presidential election, do you feel George W. Bush deserves to be re-elected, or do you feel he does not deserve to be re-elected?

	12/14/03	12/13/03	
Yes, deserves re-election	52	47	[10]
No, does not deserve re-election	38	46	
Not sure	11	7	

4a. If President Bush runs for re-election in 2004, do you think you will probably vote for President Bush or probably vote for the Democratic candidate? (IF "PRESIDENT BUSH" OR "DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE," ASK:) And would you say that you will definitely vote for (President Bush/the Democratic candidate), or just probably vote for (President Bush/the Democratic candidate)? (IF "NOT SURE," RECORD AS "PROBABLY.")

	12/14/03	12/13/03	<u>11/03</u>	9/03	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	
Definitely vote for President Bush	32	34	NA	NA	NA	NA	[11]
Probably vote for President Bush	12	12	43	42	45	47	
Probably vote for Democratic candidate	15	17	40	40	36	32	
Definitely vote for the Democratic candidate	18	23	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Vote for another party's candidate (VOL)	1	1	2	2	3	2	
Depends on who opponent is (VOL)	9	6	8	9	10	12	
Not sure	12	7	8	7	7	7	
		<u>4/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	12/02	<u>10/02</u> +		
		NA	NA	NA	NA		
		52	41	42	45		
		24	34	28	31		
		NA	NA	NA	NA		
		4	3	4	3		
		14	16	20	17		
		6	6	6	4		

 $[\]hbox{+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters}.$

4b. If the next election for president were held today, and George W. Bush were running as the Republican candidate and Howard Dean were the Democratic candidate, for whom would you vote?

	12/14/03	12/13/03	11/03	9/03	<u>7/03</u>	
George W. Bush	52	51	50	48	52	[12]
Howard Dean	31	39	35	35	30	
Depends (VOL)	3	1	2	3	3	
Neither/other (VOL)	4	4	6	7	7	
Not sure	10	5	8	8	8	

4c. If the next election for president were held today, and George W. Bush were running as the Republican candidate and Wesley Clark were the Democratic candidate, for whom would you vote?

	12/14/03	12/13/03	11/03	9/03	
George W. Bush	53	50	49	45	[13]
Wesley Clark	28	34	37	38	
Depends (VOL)	2	2	2	2	
Neither/other (VOL)	4	4	5	5	
Not sure	13	10	7	11	

5a. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or something else? (IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN." IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Democratic Party, closer to the Republican Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly independent?

Strong Democrat Not very strong Democrat Independent/lean Democrat	20 10 9	Skip to Q.6	[14]
Strictly independent	16		
Independent/lean Republican	10		
Not very strong Republican	8	CONTINUE	
Strong Republican	18		
Other	7		
Not sure/nothing	4		

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO DO NOT SAY THEY ARE A DEMOCRAT IN Q.5a.)

5b. If there were a presidential primary election in your state, would you vote in the Democratic primary, the Republican primary, or would you wait to vote in the general election?

	12/14/03		12/13/03	11/03	9/03	<u>5/03</u>	
Vote in the Democratic primary	6	CONTINUE	10	7	10	9	[15]
Vote in the Republican primary	36		40	39	37	39	
Wait until the general election	50	Skip to Q.8	46	48	44	46	
Neither/other (VOL)	5		2	3	4	2	
Not sure	4		2	3	4	4	
			<u>4/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02</u> +	
			6	8	6	8	
			41	43	43	43	
			44	46	43	42	
			3	1	4	3	
			6	2	4	4	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE A DEMOCRAT IN Q.5a OR THAT THEY WOULD VOTE IN THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY IN Q.5b.)

6. Let me mention some people who might seek the Democratic nomination for president in 2004. If the next Democratic primary for president were being held today, for which one of the following candidates would you vote? (IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

	12/14/03	12/13/03	11/03	9/03	7/03	<u>5/03</u>	4/03	<u>1/03</u>	12/02	
Howard Dean	25	29	15	17	12	3	3	3	1	
Wesley Clark	11	10	17	16	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Richard Gephardt	11	12	12	8	11	16	14	17	14	
Joe Lieberman	9	7	11	16	25	21	19	25	20	
John Kerry	5	6	11	11	14	17	13	14	16	
Dennis Kucinich	4	2	3	2	2	1	NA	NA	NA	
John Edwards	3	5	5	4	4	5	4	7	3	
Carol Moseley Braun	2	3	3	1	5	4	4	NA	NA	[16]
Al Sharpton	2	6	4	3	3	2	2	2	4	
None (VOL)1	5	4	6	4	7	6	14	5		
Other (VOL)	1	-	1	1	-	1	1	1	6	
Not sure	21	16	12	14	14	21	23	20	22	

¹ In December 2002, "None (VOL)" and "Other (VOL)" were one item.

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO ANSWERED Q.6 AND DID $\underline{\text{NOT}}$ SAY "NONE," "OTHER," OR "NOT SURE.")

7a. And which of the following would you say is the most important reason why you would vote for this candidate if the Democratic primary were being held today – is it because of (his/her) (READ ITEM)? (IF "ALL EQUALLY IMPORTANT," ASK:) Well, if you had to choose just one, which one would it be?

	To	7a op son		Top/S	a/b BINED econd Ison	
	12/14/03	12/13/03	•	12/14/03	12/13/03	
Positions on domestic issues, such as	17	26		36	45	
the economy and health care			[18]			[17]
Vision for the country	16	13		28	27	
Leadership qualities, personality, and style	17	16		30	26	
Position on the war in Iraq	3	7		12	19	
Positions on social issues, such as gay marriage and abortion	4	6		14	13	
Ability to defeat President Bush	9	8		12	13	
Ability to serve as commander-in-chief	11	4	CONTINUE	17	11	
All equally important (VOL)	15	16	Skip to	16	18	
Other (VOL)	4	3	Q.8	6	3	
Not sure	3	3		9	4	

(ASK ONLY OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED Q.7a AND DID $\underline{\text{NOT}}$ SAY "ALL EQUALLY IMPORTANT," "OTHER," OR "NOT SURE.")

7b. And which of these reasons would you say is the second most important reason – is it because of (his/her) (READ ITEM)? (IF "ALL EQUALLY IMPORTANT," ASK:) But if you absolutely had to choose, which ONE reason would you say comes next?

Now I'd like to turn to foreign policy ...

8. Do you think that the United States should or should not have taken military action to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq?

Should have taken military action Should not have taken military action Not sure	12/14/03 69 26 5	12/13/03 66 30 4	11/03 63 34 3	9/03 64 33 4	7/03 69 27 5	<u>5/03</u> 71 24 5	[20]
			4/03 76 17 7	3/17/03 ¹ 65 30 5	2/03 ² 60 27 13	<u>1/03</u> 56 36 8	
			12/02 59 30 11	10/02+ 60 31 9	9/02 58 30 12	4/02 ³ 57 28 8	

¹On March 17, 2003, the question was phrased, "Do you think that the United States should or should not take..."

9. Do you think that the war in Iraq is generally over with most of the challenges behind us, or do you think that most of the challenges in Iraq remain ahead?

	12/14/03	7/03	5/03	4/03 ¹	
Most of the challenges behind us	20	18	26	22	[21]
Most of the challenges remain ahead	71	75	70	71	
Not sure	8	7	3	7	

¹In April 2003, this question was phrased, "most of the challenges in the war remain ahead"

² Overnight poll conducted after Colin Powell's speech to the United Nations.

³ In April 2002, the question was phrased, "Do you think that the United States should or should not take military action against Iraq and Saddam Hussein?" + Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

10. Now I'm going to read you some goals that the United States had in the war with Iraq. For each, please tell me whether you think that the United States has been successful in that goal.

	<u>Successful</u>	Not <u>Successful</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Making the United States more secure				
December 14, 2003	62	32	5	[25]
September 2003	52	43	5	
July 2003	59	33	8	
April 2003	62	30	8	
Minimizing Iraqi civilian casualties				
December 14, 2003	60	28	12	[24]
July 2003	68	24	8	
April 2003	82	11	7	
Minimizing American soldiers' casualties				
December 14, 2003	52	40	8	[23]
September 2003	48	45	7	
July 2003	57	37	7	
Finding evidence of weapons of mass destruction				
December 14, 2003	20	73	7	[26]
September 2003	18	75	7	
July 2003	22	70	8	
April 2003	36	53	11	

11. When it comes to the strength of Iraqi armed opposition, do you think that the Bush administration did or did not underestimate the situation?

	12/14/03	<u>11/03</u>	9/03	7/03	
Did underestimate the situation	50	60	53	44	[27]
Did not underestimate the situation	43	37	42	53	
Not sure	7	3	4	4	

12. When it comes to the war in Iraq, do you think that removing Saddam Hussein from power was or was not worth the number of U.S. military casualties and the financial cost of the war?

Worth it Not worth it Depends	53 37 5	12/13/03 45 42 6	11/03 45 46 3	[28]
Not sure	5	6	5	

13. If the United States never finds weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, do you think the war with Iraq will have been worthwhile, or do you think the war with Iraq will not have been worthwhile?

	12/14/03	11/03	
War with Iraq will have been worthwhile	60	57	[29]
War with Iraq will not have been worthwhile	33	37	
Depends/Not sure (VOL)	7	6	

14. When it comes to how long American troops should stay in Iraq, which comes closer to your view?

Statement A: American troops should be withdrawn from Iraq now or as soon as possible.

Statement B: American troops should be withdrawn from Iraq according to a specified timetable and leave within the next 18 months regardless of the situation at that time.

Statement C: American troops should stay as long as necessary to complete the process, even if it takes as long as five years.

	12/14/03	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	
Statement A/As soon as possible	20	21	20	21	17	[30]
Statement B/According to specified						
timetable, but within 18 months	23	23	28	26	23	
Statement C/As long as necessary,						
even if five years	55	55	51	50	58	
Not sure	3	1	2	2	3	

15. Regardless of whether you think the United States should have gone to war with Iraq, would you say that the United States is very likely to succeed in Iraq, somewhat likely to succeed in Iraq, not very likely to succeed in Iraq?

	<u>12/14/03</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>	
Very likely to succeed in Iraq	42	34	[31]
Somewhat likely to succeed in Iraq	34	38	
Not very likely to succeed in Iraq	13	17	
Not at all likely to succeed in Iraq	6	7	
Depends (VOL)	2	2	
Not sure	3	2	

The United States government recently announced that some major contracts for the reconstruction of Iraq will be limited to firms from the United States and other nations that joined military action against Saddam Hussein's regime. Which of the following statements comes closer to your view of this policy?

Statement A: This policy is appropriate, because only countries whose soldiers risked their lives in Iraq should receive financial rewards from the reconstruction.

Statement B: This policy is not appropriate, because it may hinder U.S. efforts to win more assistance now from countries that opposed the war, such as Germany and France.

	12/14/03	12/13/03	
Statement A/ Policy is appropriate	58	63	[32]
Statement B/ Policy is not appropriate	32	32	
Not sure/Don't know enough	10	6	

17. Do you think that Saddam Hussein's capture will increase, decrease, or not affect the number of future American casualties in Iraq?

Increase the number of future American casualties	18	[33]
Decrease the number of future American casualties	43	
Not affect the number of future American casualties	28	
Depends/Not sure (VOL)	12	

18. Do you think Saddam Hussein's capture will make it easier, make it harder, or not affect the ability of American and coalition forces to establish a stable democratic government in Iraq?

Easier to establish stable democratic		
government in Iraq	68	[34]
Harder to establish stable democratic	6	
government in Iraq		
Not affect ability to establish stable	19	
democratic government in Iraq		
Depends/Not sure (VOL)	7	

19. Do you think Saddam Hussein's capture will make it easier, make it harder, or not affect the United States' ability to win the global war on terror?

Easier to win the global war on terror	57	[35]
Harder to win the global war on terror	4	
Not affect ability to win the global war on terror	34	
Depends/Not sure (VOL)	5	

FACTUALS: Now I'm going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you live now, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Yes, registered	86	[36]
No, not registered	14	
Not sure	-	

F2. Are you currently employed?

(IF CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:) What type of work do you do?

(IF NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:) Are you a student, a homemaker, retired, or unemployed and looking for work?

Currently Employed		
Professional/ manager	33	[37]
White-collar worker	18	
Blue-collar worker	15	
Not Currently Employed		
Student	1	
Homemaker	2	
Retired	20	
Unemployed, looking for work	5	
Other	4	
Not sure	2	

F3.	Did you happen to vote in the 2000 presidential election? (IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote
	George W. Bush, the Republican, Al Gore, the Democrat, Ralph Nader, the Green Party candidate, or Pat
	Buchanan, the Reform Party candidate?

Yes, Voted		
Voted for George W. Bush	42	[38]
Voted for Al Gore	30	
Voted for Ralph Nader	2	
Voted for Pat Buchanan	-	
Voted for other candidate (VOL)	1	
Not sure who voted for (VOL)	2	
No, Did Not Vote	18	
No, was too young to vote (VOL)	1	
Not Sure/Refused	5	

F4. How old are you? (IF "REFUSED," ASK:) Well, would you tell me which age group you belong to?

18-24	9	50-54	12	[39]
25-29	-			[00]
30-34	9			
35-39	9	65-69	6	
40-44	10	70-74	4	
45-49	12	75 and over	7	
		Refused	2	

F5. What is the last grade that you completed in school?

Grade school	2	[40]
Some high school	4	
High school graduate	27	
Some college, no degree	16	
Vocational training/2-year college	10	
4-year college/bachelor's degree	22	
Some postgraduate work, no degree	3	
2 or 3 years' postgraduate work/master's degree	11	
Doctoral/law degree	3	
Not sure/refused	2	

F6. Thinking about your general approach to issues, do you consider yourself to be liberal, moderate, or conservative?

Liberal	20	[41]
Moderate	42	
Conservative	32	
Not sure	5	

F7. Are you currently single and never married, married, separated, widowed, or divorced?

Single	21	[42]
Married	57	
Separated	2	
Widowed	7	
Divorced	12	
Other (VOL)		
Not sure/refused	1	

F8a. Which of the following would you use to describe yourself – Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Muslim, atheist, agnostic, or none of these?

Protestant	35	CONTINUE	[43]
Catholic	25		
Jewish	2	Skip to Q.F8c	
Muslim	-		
Atheist/agnostic	4		
None of these	32	CONTINUE	•
Not sure	1		
Refused	1	Skip to O.F8c	•

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY "PROTESTANT," "NONE OF THESE," OR "NOT SURE" IN Q.F8a.)
F8b. Would you describe yourself as either a fundamentalist or an evangelical Christian, or would you not describe yourself that way?

Fundamentalist/Evangelical	23	[44]
Protestant, Not Fundamentalist/	16	
Evangelical		
Protestant, Not Sure or Refused	3	
Fundamentalist, Evangelical		
Catholic	25	
Jewish	2	
Muslim	-	
Atheist/agnostic		
None of these	25	
Not sure	1	
Refused	1	

F8c. How often do you attend services at a church, synagogue, or other place of worship?

Never	14	[45]
Once a year	5	
A few times a year		
Once a month	10	
About twice a month	10	
Once a week or more often	38	
Not sure	4	

F9. Are you a member of a labor union? (IF "NO," ASK:) Is anyone else in this household a member of a labor union?

Labor union member	10	[46]
Labor union household	4	
Non-union household	83	
Not sure	3	

F10. Do you, or does anyone in your household, own a gun of any kind?

Yes, gun in household	40	[47]
No, no gun in household	56	
Not sure	3	

F11a.	Aro 1/01	ı from o	Hichania a	Chanich c	nookina	hackground?
гтта.	AIC you	i iioiii a	i lispariic di	Spariisir-s	peaking	background?

Yes, Hispanic	9	[48]
No, not Hispanic	89	
Not sure/refused	2	

F11b. What is your race--white, black, Asian, or something else?

White	74	[49]
Black	10	
Asian	2	
Other	5	
Hispanic (VOL)	6	
Not sure/refused	3	

F12. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than ten thousand dollars, between ten thousand dollars and twenty thousand dollars, between thirty thousand dollars and forty thousand dollars, between forty thousand dollars and fifty thousand dollars, between fifty thousand dollars and seventy-five thousand dollars, between seventy-five thousand dollars and one hundred thousand dollars, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000	4	[50]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000	6	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000	10	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000	13	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000	11	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000	18	
Between \$75,000 and \$100,000	9	
More than \$100,000	13	
Not sure/refused	16	